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Suicide was committed by hanging. It was not infrequently committed by a woman grieving over an irremovable cause, especially a married woman who found herself in an unbearable situation, such as having to live in a forced marriage to which she would not or could not adjust, or because she was being beaten at every slight provocation by a husband with an uncontrolled temper. "In my 30 years among the Mapuche," said a non-Araucanian missionary, "25 instances have come to my knowledge in which a woman hung herself; the most recent one occurred two years ago [1945]. When a man returns home and does not find his wife there, or finds that she has left no word for him, he knows that she has hung herself. A woman usually finds a most isolated and unfrequented place to do so. She selects an elevated place on which to stand, ties her belt about her neck, ties the other end of the belt to a branch of the tree which she has bent down, and then releases the branch. She then dangles in midair and dies. People help the man search for her. If they do not find her, they wait until they see large numbers of jote [Chilean vultures] flying about in one place. Jotes gather where there is dead meat. They know then that her body can be found there."

A man is known to commit suicide when rejected by his sweetheart without exception a son is submissive and deeply respectful toward his father all his lifetime. A non-Araucanian teacher told of a suicide of a father: "This happened a few years ago—it is the only instance of suicide in this area in the past 10 years. It was generally known that the man and his wife quarreled and that the older sons sided with the mother. During a quarrel one of the sons injured his father with a hoe. The father took a horse and left the ruka. Later he was found dead, hanging from a tree not far from the ruka. Every Mapuche tried to hush the affair for fear the Chilean police would exhume the body to ascertain whether the death had been due to violence by another—a thing for which persons are imprisoned. The father, however, took revenge, it was said. Periodically, over a long period of time, he came back to his ruka. No one ever saw him, but he slammed the door when he entered, howled about the place, and sometimes caused the fire to flare up. The young children were afraid to be in the ruka; even the older sons did not wish to be in it alone."

Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. "Very old people have told that in very early times it sometimes happened that our people did not have enough to eat and that from sheer hunger a few lost their minds; such persons sometimes ate the meat of other Mapuche who had died. But at no other time did Mapuche eat humans."

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inherited land; in those days when a man married, he and his wife lived with the man's parents until he had selected for himself a piece of land from that which his father offered him or he had cleared a piece for himself, at least partially, and thereby laid claim to it." Today, according to Chilean law, both sons and daughters inherit land. According to Chilean law, also, the ownership of land must be recorded with Chilean officials. "Ours is not so recorded, neither mine nor my wife's," said the above Cotluripe informant. "But we are entitled to land in this area, as I said, and no one can take this right from us—we were born here. All Mapuche entitled to land in this area were recorded with the old cacique, but not with the Chilean authorities. Since the cacique's death, his son has the list." With a firm voice and determined conviction he added: "No stranger can come in here, neither Mapuche nor Chilean, and own land. A stranger can only cultivate land on shares, that is, the Mapuche who owns a piece of land can let the stranger plant it for the price of half the harvest, or for at least a share of the harvest. Four years ago a Mapuche family came in here from Colelquén and cultivated land in this way."

In Cotluripe area then (1947), because ownership of land is not recorded with the Chilean Government, owners of land had no Chilean deed to their land; in Alepún area, most men do have a deed. A 35-year-old Alepún man told the manner of obtaining land in his area and getting a deed to it. "If a Mapuche wishes to claim a piece of land," he said, "he builds a rube on it, clears some land around it and uses it for fields and gardens. By the time he gets this done, he has decided how many hectares he wants. He draws a plan showing the location of the land and takes it to the Oficina de Tierra de Colonización in Valdivia. This office will send a civil engineer to locate the land and to make certain that it belongs to no one else. The Mapuche is then given a deed to the land. There has been no difficulty with the Chilean Government, up to now, about this." He went on, then, to tell of the restrictions on clearing the land: "The greatest difficulty at present is to get the land cleared. Without permission from the Oficina de Forestal in Valdivia, no one is allowed to burn down forests—our way of clearing the land. Three years ago fires got out of control because of the pudúdo [strong east wind] that came up unexpectedly and spread over large tracts. Pueblitos were surrounded by fire and could not be reached. The night was as light as daytime. Harvests and pastures and cattle were burnt. In several places underground fires continued to spread and burnt the roots of grass causing a dire scarcity of grass the following winter. One Mapuche was herding

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a hundred cattle for a Chilean from San José de Mariquina; 50 of these died of starvation that winter. Since then we have to get permission from the Chilean office to burn down trees."

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Although the Araucanians are following the traditional pattern of land ownership, they are worried and confused over laws that have been formulated by Chilean legislators in recent years (or are now in the process of being formulated) regarding Arancanian land tenure. Said one: "No one seems to know exactly what it means, or what the outcome will be."

According to a summary by Lipschütz (1948) on legislation as of 1947, dealing with Araucanian ownership of land in Chile, the landed property of the Araucanian Indians in Chile is subject to a 1931 law by which all the former Indian laws (1853 to 1927) are abrogated. This law regulates the division of lands owned collectively by Indian communities (probably those owned by a kunpém), and requires that the division of land so owned be accomplished when one-third of the owners request it. The impact of cultural conflicts can be surmised, and is discernible in the following quotation of the summary:

> In 1942 a project for a new law was elaborated by a special parliamentary commission. The latter pleaded even more strongly for a "liquidation" [literally] (Art. 15) of the communities and for replacing collective ownership by small private holdings. The proprietors of these shall be re-united into Indian Cooperative Associations (Art. 63) into which non-Indian proprietors of former Indian holdings might be admitted (Art. 65). This project caused, according to official statements, considerable unrest among the Indians. A new Commission was created by the Government to include also representatives of the Indians themselves. The Commission reverted from the concept of "liquidation" to the former concept of "division" when requested by one-third of the members (Art. 13), but pleaded for the right of even one member of a community to separate and to become a private owner of his share in the communal land (Art. 20). The concept of Cooperative Associations was dropped but special facilities as to loans when sought for (Art. 67) and so also educational facilities [can be enjoyed] (Art. 68).
>
> Though the existing law and all the projects for a new law of Indian landed property agree that division or abolition of the ancestral community based on collective ownership is desirable, all recognize tacitly or expressly that this is not the solution to the native problem. They are unanimous that the Indian small private holder has to be protected against the easy loss of his holding; and that consequently the Indian has to be deprived of the right to sell or mortgage the holdings, though his private property. The concept that the private holdings resulting from the "division" or "liquidation" of the Community should be re-united into Cooperative Associations, also was sought for as a protective measure. The latest project of the Government, which is of July 1947, proposes the creation of a kind of "Indian Office" (Corporación de Asuntos Indígenas) with the special task of organizing Indian agriculture irrespectively private holders, communities, or cooperative associations (Art. 1).

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tivo." Camaruka is probably an adaptation of the Quechua word "camarico" (Moesbach, 1944, p. 35). "They all mean the same," said the cacique of Malleo; "they mean prayer of thanksgiving and petition offered by all the people together—it is a united prayer. We thank God for what we have received in crops and animals and children and health, and we ask Him for particular things that are for the welfare of all the people." The welfare of all the people includes good health, favorable weather during growing time, a good harvest, and the prevention of killing frosts or snowfalls, or bitterly cold winters. One extraordinary intention (one for which the ñillatun was conducted out of the regular time) was to avert starvation. A year of dire want was known to follow the year in which the colihüe blossoms, which, informants said, occurs about every 20 to 30 years. Informants explained that rats, attracted by the seeds of the colihüe, came in large numbers, and after having eaten the colihüe seeds, they ate the wheat and other food supplies. Consequently, as soon as there was indication that the colihüe would blossom, each cacique called his people together for the ñillatun.

Formerly the ñillatun was held regularly twice a year: once following seeding time and again at harvest time. Each cacique, having decided on the days for the celebration of the ñillatun, sent two young men to give notice to his people. At present each area that still has a cacique holds the ñillatun only biennially, and that at harvest time; but a cacique takes his people, during the in-between year, to the ñillatun of another cacique upon the invitation of that cacique. Also, today, areas that no longer have a cacique join with an area that does. Such areas, for example, as Trumpul, Pilpil, Catin Lil, Lolog, Pilolil, Chemuel, Kaleufu, and the shores of the River Limay, which no longer have a cacique, attend the ñillatun conducted in Quilaquina. Kaleufu conducted its last ñillatun under its late cacique, Shailvoeke; Trumpul, under its late cacique, Cayún.

Araucanians in the Quilaquina area were restless in the summer of 1952 because the cacique of the area had not sent out notice that the ñillatun would be celebrated in the fall of the year. "This is the year for it," said Kolupan. "This is an important thing; not something to be trifled with. The present cacique was reared in the schools of the Christians; he is lax; he attaches no significance to the ñillatun; if he does not hold one soon, he will meet with death. His brother, the cacique before him, had more sense; he held at least one every year." (The cacique did die; he froze to death in the winter of 1952.)

Plans for holding the ñillatun late in April (fall of 1952) were

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The Mapuche-occupied area of the Frontera is roughly that of the state of Delaware and covers several political provinces and three major geographical zones. The latter are generally referred to as the coastal range and narrow coastal plain, the Central Valley, and the Andean foothills and interior valleys. There was once a dense evergreen forest covering the greater part of central Chile, but today the larger stands of timber are found mostly in the Andes and the coastal mountains, the Central Valley having been cleared of trees in the process of agricultural expansion and town building. This is the ancestral heartland of Mapuche territory. It is still undergoing colonization by white settlers.

The Andes are the most impressive topographical feature in the area, rising well above 15,000 feet, with numerous towering volcanoes. Snow-covered the year round, these volcanoes occasionally erupt and cause great damage to settlements in the surrounding country, as a consequence of which there is always heightened ceremonial activity among the Mapuche. The several low passes south of Villarrica and one near Lonquimay are used by migrant workers and tourists going to Argentina and back, but they are almost impassable in winter. In the high Andes agriculture is not possible, but it is practiced in the foothills. The more precipitous terrain is used for pasturing sheep, cattle, and horses.

The coastal range, which has an average altitude of only 1,000 feet, although reaching 7,000 feet in places, is relatively unproductive in terms of Mapuche economy. Its stands of timber are exploited mainly by Chileans. Mapuche graze some cattle along the mountain slopes, but most of the area is not inhabited by Indians. There are a few colonies of small freeholders, *colonos* and *parceleros*, and some extensive haciendas or *fundos* found in the mountainous belt along the coast.

In many places the coastal range approaches the shore line, but there is a narrow coastal strip occupied by small numbers of Mapuche. Most of the coastal area is too wet for successful wheat production and is given over to potatoes, barley, linseed, and other crops which grow in very moist soil. Wheat and oats are grown in limited amounts in favorable places. Fairly ample natural pasturage supports a large number of cattle.

The Central Valley, lying between the Andes and the coastal range, provides some of the best wheatland in Chile. The soil in most of the valley is rich, composed of glacial deposits and volcanic ash. There

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ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chacarería* such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the reservation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to combine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by *fundo* owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest, rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952 and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *dillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *dillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1955, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

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Of a total of 293 hectares, approximately 180 are cultivated, 90 are *vega* and woodland utilizable as pasturage, and the rest either *vega* that is too swampy for use or land bordering the newly built railroad spur line which cuts through the *baja* land from the north-northeast. More than half the land is *altura*, but the ratio of *vega* and woodland to cleared *baja* is about 2:1, leaving less than three-quarters of the total land available for agriculture under present conditions.

There is greater diversity in land types than is found on Alonqueo, where most land is *altura* and the *vega* that exists is suitable for pasturing cattle most of the year. On Llancaman and in the Toltén region as a whole there is a continual rotation of crops rather than a fallow period of several years. Some Mapuche allow land to rest, but the pattern is to rotate crops rather than fields. Potatoes, oats, and wheat are grown in successive years on *altura*. In the *baja*, potatoes and barley are rotated, sometimes along with peas. Wheat does not grow well in the wet clayey soil of this region. Potatoes used to be the principal crop until about five years ago, when they suffered a blight which was still rampant in 1953-54. Barley is grown in about the same amount as wheat, and farther north and almost directly on the coast, there are several reservations that experimented with linseed some years ago and today raise this crop almost exclusively for market. Crop yields on some reservations in the Pelehue region are higher than in the Roble Huacho region. While returns are not equal to those on better Chilean farms, they approximate the provincial minimum average, that is, they are in the ratio of about 5 or 6:1 and are said to have reached 15:1, which approximates the provincial maximum average.

The Indians on Llancaman have 93 cattle, 27 horses, and 234 sheep, in addition to pigs, chickens, and some geese. Many more of these animals are held in half-shares than is the case on reservation Alonqueo. This is partly because there is more natural pasturage available on Llancaman, but it is also because the reservation is less wealthy.

A generation ago more cattle used to be raised than now. Before the *radicación*, cattle and sheep were far more important than crops in the native diet, with the exception of potatoes. In those days agricultural production was not as varied as it is today, potatoes being the principal field crop. There was very little wheat, oats, and *chacarería*, and almost no barley grown. Many wild plants were gathered. Some use was made of fish from the Toltén River, but ocean resources were not tapped.

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consistently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1953. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately 30,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1953) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help — that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[32] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[34] number of the Mapuche – an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[131] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation[1] had been without an effective chief for
[731] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
[622] matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[731] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

[1 i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan – ANALYST]

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etate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelehue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being cut down.

Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land. Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals. The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans, clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting. The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an "acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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754 intercorporational level, fear of witchcraft seems to
628 involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related
578 through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not.
However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which persecutes the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exceptions to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through mar-
621 riages contracted several generations ago and then not subse-
578 quently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society, and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intercorporational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is
731 not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific
269 ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on
782 the part of the community to make proper supplication of their
[194] ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general

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difficulty. In times of general hardship, therefore, the public pressure against witches is actually eased; since everyone shows the same signs of deprivation and misfortune, no one is suspected of gaining advantage over another. Attention is directed to gods and public worship.

Under ordinary circumstances, in reasonably good times, public ritual does not suffice to allay fears about the forces of evil. The *machi* and the *kalku* then appear as the most active figures in the context of good and evil. People have traditional safeguards outside the sphere of professional activity, however, and strive to cement relationships within the area of kinship rights and obligations. Notable among these attempts are the practices of *misha*, *trafkin*, and *konchotun*, interpersonal rituals designed to formalize relationships in a context free from suspicion and fear of sorcery. *Misha*, the ritual sharing of food from a single bowl, symbolizes that the individuals so related are innocent of desiring to harm one another. By demonstrating that the food of which they partake is not poisoned, the two persons also demonstrate their trust in the members of their respective households (who have had a hand in the preparation of the food), and this indicates a trust greater than that involved solely with respect to the shared plate. When one says that he is *misha* with so-and-so or asks another person to become *misha*, he demonstrates not only friendship between himself and another individual, but a relationship of trust with an entire household or sublineage. *Trafkin*, the ritual exchange of gifts between two persons, has the same kind of implication for the individuals and their respective families. The people tangentially involved speak of the *trafkin* relationship of their kinsmen with strong feelings of satisfaction and security. They comprise an unassailable block in an area of charges and countercharges of sorcery. And so with *konchotun*, an even more elaborate and formalized bond between persons, which, similarly, extends to their families. *Konchotun*, a formal and public (during *ñillatun* ceremony) demonstration of special friendship, involves the sacrifice of a lamb and the communial partaking of its meat—at least when the ceremony is undertaken in the fully traditional manner. In any case, though, *konchotun* establishes bonds between individuals and their families which tend to be per-

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